

中央黨史史料編纂委員會編

創刊號

黨史史料叢刊

張建題簽



本期弁言

總理之於革命，特重宣傳。故謂：『革命成功極快的方法，宣傳要用九成，武力只可用一成。』（見國民黨奮鬥方法，宜無注重宣傳不宜專注重軍事演說詞）其敍本黨宣傳也有云：『求舉國之人民，共喻此主義，以身體而力行之，於是有宣傳。……余於乙未舉事廣州，不幸而敗，後數年，始命陳少白創中國日報於香港，以鼓吹革命，庚子以後，革命宣傳驟盛，東京則有戴元成，沈虬齋，張溥泉等發起國民報，上海則有章太炎，吳稚暉，鄒容等借蘇報以主張革命，鄒容之革命軍，章太炎之駁康有為書，尤為一時傳誦。……及同盟會成立，命胡漢民陳天華等撰述民報，章太炎出獄，復延入焉。民報成立，一方為同盟會之喉舌，以宣傳主義，一方則力闢當時保皇黨勸告開明專制要求立憲之謬說，使革命主義，如日中天』（見中國革命史）敬遵訓諭，特輯宣傳史料專號為創刊，首之以總理最早對外宣傳之文稿，而次之以革命書刊選粹為中心，於駁康有為書及革命軍，均錄全文，餘所取材，率取之於中國日報，國民報，蘇報，民報，依現代雜誌形式及讀者需要，予以綜合，亦以見本黨當日宣傳書刊，學理，感情，內容，方法，四者並重，此其宏效所以風潮海外，使『學校之內，市肆之間，爭相傳寫，清庭雖有嚴禁，未如之何』（中國革命史）外此殿之以革命文藝兩篇『猛回頭』為當日不脛而告之禁書，『六月霜』則表揚秋瑾烈士之名劇，雖曰文藝，亦重要之宣傳史料也，編餘，粗敍其涯略如此。

（編者）

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- 三、本刊所載各文悉依其原文
- 四、本刊各文著作人確知姓名者註其姓名於篇名下尙未確知者則標其原刊之筆名或書報名
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THE TRUE SOLUTION OF THE CHINESE QUESTION

Sun Yat-sen

The attention of the whole world is at present directed towards the Far East, not only because of the war which is now going on between Russia and Japan, but also because of the fact that China will ultimately be the main field of struggle between those countries striving for the mastery in Asia. European possessions in Africa which had hitherto been the bone of contention between the European Powers having now been pretty well defined, a new field for territorial aggrandizement and colonial expansion must therefore be sought. China, long known as the "Sick Man of the Far East," affords naturally such a field for the satisfaction of European ambitions. America, notwithstanding her traditional seclusive policy in international politics, is, however, by no means disinterested in it, although in a way somewhat from that of the other countries. In the first place, the passing of the Philippine Islands under American control makes the United States one of the nearest neighbors of China, and it is therefore impossible for her to shut her eyes to the state of things in that country. In the second place, China is a great market for American goods, and if America intends to extend her commercial and industrial activity to other parts of the world, China is the first country that she must look to. Hence the so-called "Far Eastern Question" is of peculiar importance to this country.

The problem is as important as it is difficult of solution, owing to the many conflicting interests involved therein. The ultimate outcome of the present war between Russia and Japan has been considered by many as the probable

中國問題真解

(公民俱樂部譯)

今日全球之視線，集於遠東，其近因爲日露之戰爭。而其遠因亦以爭爲亞細亞主人翁者，思伸其最後之勢力於中國也。歐人營領土於亞非利加，其大勢已定，無復餘，故必更尋新地以施其殖民之政策。而中國久有東亞病夫之稱，以世界最良沃之大地，適投歐人之所好。雖亞米利加對於萬國政策，表其孟羅主義，然謂其手段異於他國則可，謂其甘放棄權利則不可也。夫飛獵賓既受治於美。爲中國近隣，中國之國情。必不能相掩飾。且中國爲美絕大之商場。美而不欲輸出其工商各品於他國則已。苟其不然，則供美人貿易之資源無有出於中國之右者。然則所謂遠東問題，不能不特別注意於此國。

此問題中有無數利益衝突，故其解決甚難。即日露戰爭之結果。由種種方面思之，或有解決之道。由中國觀之。則此時已處衝激之旋渦。而戰爭之止，且莫知所

solution of the question. But from a Chinese standpoint, the war raises more difficulties than it solves; if it decides anything at all, it would decide, at the most, the question of supremacy between those two countries only. What about the interest of Great Britain? of France? of Germany? of the United States? As to those questions, the war is far from being a solution.

In order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the whole question, we must find out the root of all these difficulties. The most superficial knowledge of Asiatic affairs will convince any one that this lies in the weakness and corruptness of the Manchu government which threatens, by the very fact of its weakness, to disturb the existing political equilibrium of the world. Paradoxical as it is, it is not without foundation. As a proof of this, we would only mention the present Russo-Japanese war. Had it not been for the utter inability of the Manchu government, over Manchuria, the war might have been avoided. And it is but the beginning of a long series of conflicts which are likely to arise between the different powers interested in the Chinese question.

We say the Manchu government, and not the Chinese government, with intention. The Chinese have at present no government of their own, and the term "Chinese Government," if applied to the present government of China, is a misnomer. This seems to be startling to one who is not well acquainted with Chinese affairs, but it is a fact — a historical fact. In order to convince you of this, let us give you a short account of the establishment of the Manchu dynasty.

Before they came in contact with the Chinese, the Manchus were a savage, nomadic tribe roaming in the wilds of the Amor region. They often raided and plundered the peaceful Chinese inhabitants along the frontier. Towards the close of the Ming dynasty there was great civil war in China, and taking

從。蓋被不過兩國最高權之問題。而其他皆英美德法諸國。將如何收其利益？其條件複雜。屬於將來之解決，不能與戰爭為終始也。

吾輩欲研究其解決之點，必當查其困難之原因；或有從表面觀亞細亞之內政。以為滿洲政府，腐敗黑暗至於極點，故所為實足擾世界上勢力平均之局者，其說雖怪，而不能謂其無據。由日露戰爭觀之而益信。蓋日露戰爭，非無可阻止之機，而滿洲政府不能調和其間，且於衝突之初，延引外力之侵入，而若自以為得計者也。

吾輩所謂滿洲政府，蓋與中國政府有別。中國今日固無政府。而兩者界說，實不能混。如直以滿洲政府當之，則是法律上誤定之名詞耳。此言也。非極熟於中國之內政；鮮不以為怪。蓋其間當取證於歷史之觀念，苟為述滿洲之小史。則未有不釋然者。

當滿洲人之未入中國，不過黑龍江畔之野蠻游牧，常寇中國北方邊境，乘明季內亂，長驅入關，懷有燕京。如北狄之蹂躪羅馬，其時則千六百四十四年也。中國人爾

advantage of the golden opportunity they suddenly came down and captured Peking in much the same way as the barbarians overran the Roman Empire. This was in the year 1644. The Chinese were unwilling to submit to this foreign yoke and offered to the invaders the most stubborn resistance. In order to force them to yield, the barbarous Manchus ruthlessly massacred millions of people, combatants and non-combatants, young and old, women and children; set fire to their dwellings; ransacked their houses and forced them to adopt their costume. It has been estimated that for disobeying the order of keeping the queue tens of thousands of persons were slaughtered. It was not until after much bloodshed and barbarity that the Chinese finally submitted to the Manchu rule.

The next measure the Manchu adopted was to keep the conquered people in ignorance as much as possible by burning and destroying all the Chinese books and literature concerning their dealings with and their invasion of China. They also prohibited the people from associations or to hold meetings for the discussion of public affairs. Their object was to stamp out the patriotic spirit of the Chinese, so that in course of time they might forget that they were subject to a foreign rule. The Manchus number at present not more than five millions, while the Chinese have a population of not less than four hundred millions. It is therefore their constant fear that the Chinese might rise up some day and regain their country. To safeguard against this many precautions have been and are still being adopted. Such has been the policy of the Manchus towards the Chinese.

This is a general misapprehension among Western people that the Chinese are by nature a seclusive people, unwilling to have any intercourse with outsiders, and that it was only at the point of the bayonet that a few ports along the coast were opened to foreign trade. The misapprehension is due more to the ignorance of Chinese history than to anything else. History furnishes us

時不願爲之隸屬，各謀反抗；而滿洲人強欲壓制，遂不得不爲種種殘忍之政策；鞭笞壯丁，及於老弱，火其居，奪其產，逼之從其服制，由薙髮令之下，總其所殺戮以億萬計！其後更用多方野蠻伎倆；演流血慘劇，中國人乃不能不隱忍服從。

然而滿洲人更欲愚中國之民智，使其永永服事。凡中國文人著作有涉於滿洲侵略暴虐事實者；皆焚毀絕滅，使後世無所考。又禁止中國人私結社會，干預國事，久之中國人始消滅其愛國精神，而忘其寄於他人之宇下矣。夫滿洲生殖至今，其種人不及五百萬，而中國則有四萬萬之衆，故彼常懼所征服者，一旦光復其祖國，勉思抵制。則不免用防禦家賊之政策；此其對待中國人之目的也。

外人往往謂中國人有排外思想，不樂交通。蓋緣往者海岸未許通商，而生此說。則亦未嘗熟中國之歷史耳！歷史蓋予吾輩以可徵之據。謂中國往昔，常與外人交際，

abundant proof that from the very earliest times up to the establishment of the present dynasty the Chinese entertained close relations with the neighboring countries and did not appear to have the least ill-disposition towards foreign traders and missionaries. The Nestorian Tablet at Sianfu gives us an excellent record of the evangelistic works of foreign missionaries among the people there as early as the seventh century after Christ. Again, the Buddhist religion was introduced into China by the Emperor in the Han dynasty, and the people welcomed the new religion with great enthusiasm. It has since continued to flourish until now it is one of the three leading religions in China. Not only missionaries but traders also were allowed to travel freely throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Even as late as the Ming dynasty there was no sign of anti-foreign spirit among the Chinese. The then Prime Minister, Hsu Kwang Che, himself embraced the Catholic faith and his intimate friend Mathew Ricci, a Jesuit missionary in Peking, was held in great esteem by the people.

With the establishment of the Manchu dynasty came a gradual change of policy. The whole country was closed to foreign trade; missionaries were driven out; native Christians were massacred; and no Chinese was allowed to emigrate outside the Chinese border under pain of death. Why was this? Simply because the Manchus wanted to exclude foreigners from their jurisdiction and to instigate the people to hate them, lest the Chinese might be enlightened and realized their own nationality through coming in contact with them. The anti-foreign spirit fostered by the Manchus finally culminated in the Boxer trouble of 1900. It is now well known that the leaders of the movement were nobody else than the members of the reigning family. Hence it may be seen that the seclusive policy of China is the outcome of selfishness on the part of the Manchus and does not represent the will of the majority of the Chinese people. Foreigners traveling in China have often noticed the fact that those people who are farther

對於外國商人及其傳教者，未始有不善之感情。試取西安府景教碑讀之；則知當七世紀外人已傳教至中國。且歡迎佛教以入中國者為漢明帝，而國民亦熱心信仰，迄於今世，猶極莊嚴，為中國三大教之一。至於外國商人，亦得旅行於內地，自漢晉以來，史不絕書，降至明季，其相徐光啓捨身以奉天主教。其執友耶教徒利馬竇，亦至北京受國人之崇敬。則中國人此時絕無排外思想可知矣。

至滿洲興盛，而政策漸變，禁全國與外人通。放逐傳教師於境外，戮民人之私奉外教者，著之為厲禁。土人遷徙於他國者，處以死刑。何者？滿洲人恐中國人與外人交接，吸其文明而不變夫故習，故極其權力之所至，鼓舞以排外思想；曩者千九百年，拳匪之亂，即滿洲人極端排外之結果也。今日舉世所共知者，排外之黨魁非他人，其滿洲貴冑也。而所謂中國閉關主義者，亦不過行於彼愚民罔利之滿洲一部，而

away from official influence are always more friendly to them than those nearer.

Since the Boxer war many have been led to believe that the Tartar government is beginning to see the sign of time and to reform itself for the betterment of the country, just from the occasional imperial edicts for reform, not knowing that they are mere dead letters made for the express purpose of pacifying popular agitations. It is absolutely impossible for the Manchus to reform the country, because reformation means detriment to them, by reformation they would be absorbed by the Chinese people and would lose the special rights and privileges which they are enjoying. The still darker side of the government can be seen when the ignorance and corruption of the official class is brought to light. These fossilized, rotten, good-for-nothing officials know only how to flatter and bribe the Manchus whereby their position may be strengthened to carry on the trade of squeezing. A very striking evidence can be seen from the proclamation issued recently by the Chinese Minister at Washington prohibiting the Chinese in this country from having anything to do with the Patriotic Society under the severe penalty that their families and distant relatives will be arrested and beheaded in China. Such a barbarous act as coming from such an educated man as Sir Liang Ching, the Chinese Minister, cannot be accounted for except upon the probable assumption that he wishes to flatter the government so that his position as a minister may be secured. Where is the hope for reform by the government and its officials?

During the two hundred and sixty years of Tartar rule we have suffered innumerable wrongs, chief of which are the following:

- (1) The Tartar run the government for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the governed.
- (2) They check our intellectual and material development.

不能例於多數之人也。故外人游歷中國，所著日記：皆常言中國人愈遠官吏，則對外人之感情愈厚。

自拳匪變後。人人以為滿洲政府，得此時機，或遂更紀國政。然徒見夫朝旨旁午，屢言變革。而不知僅為玩弄之具文，聊以欺元元之視聽耳！蓋滿洲者斷無有變其舊政之理，設其果變。則損彼實多。何也？人而羣知改革之義，則滿人將不能復享前茲所占之實權，且以貪鄙冥頑之官吏，專以迎合滿人為宗旨，持其強力，放肆無忌。即如駐美公使，禁中國僑民開愛國會等；犯者幽其宗屬於本國，或置極刑。以此野蠻舉動，而出於所謂嘗受教育之公使梁成。其他種種傳說，莫非迎合政府，冀得信任。凡滿人所置官吏如此，安望其能輔之以變革耶！

吾輩享隳廢政府毒虐；已二百六十餘年！而其最慘酷重要者，則有十端：

(一) 虜據政府以自利而非以利民。

(3) They treat us as a subjected race and deny us equal rights and privileges.

(4) They violate our inalienable rights of life, liberty and property.

(5) They practice or connive at official corruption and bribery.

(6) They suppress the liberty of speech.

(7) They impose heavy and irregular taxes on us without our consent.

(8) They practice the most barbarous tortures in the trial of an alleged offender for the purpose of compelling him to give evidence to incriminate himself.

(9) They deprive us of our rights without due process of law.

(10) They fail in their duty to protect the lives and property of all persons residing within their jurisdiction.

Notwithstanding all these grievances, we have tried every possible means to become reconciled with them, but to no purpose. In view of this fact, we, the Chinese people, in order to redress our wrongs, and to establish peace in the Far East and in the world generally, have therefore determined to adopt adequate measures for the attainment of those objects, "peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must."

The whole nation is ripe for revolution. Look at the Weichow Uprising of 1900, the attempted *coup de main* at Canton in 1902 and the Kwangsi movement which is now still going on with ever-increasing force and encouragement. The newspapers and the recent publications in China are also full of democratic ideas. Furthermore, there is the Chee Kung Tong (Chinese Patriotic Society),

(二)阻止民人物質思想之進化。

(三)取吾人如隸圜，而盡奪一切之平等權及公權。

(四)侵害我不能售與之生命權及財產自由權。

(五)容縱官吏以虐民而朘削之。

(六)禁制吾人之言論自由。

(七)定極不規則之稅則而不待人民之認可。

(八)用極野蠻之刑以對囚犯逼供定罪。

(九)不由法律而可以割奪吾人之權利。

(十)放棄其責任為吾人所託生命財產者。

我輩雖有種種不平，而猶欲勉與周旋，乃終不可得。是以中國人翻然欲改前失，建設東亞之平和，以為世界之平和，必常思適宜之方法，以達其目的。所謂「欲得平和不可不以決裂者」。亦時機撓逼之而出者也。

全國民之革命已熟。如千九百年惠州之舉事；千九百二年廣州之暗潮；其影響皆不細。而廣西之運動者，尤日增勢力。中國內地新聞雜誌，新書出版，多共和政體之

commonly known in this country as the Chinese Freemason, which has for its object "the overthrow of the Ching (Manchu) and the restoration of the Ming (Chinese) dynasty." This political organization has lasted for over two hundred years and it has now a membership of tens of millions of people, spreading all over Southern China. About 80 per cent of the Chinese in this country belong to this league. Those Chinese who favor revolutionary ideas may be roughly divided into three classes. The first class, the most numerous of the three, comprises those persons who cannot even obtain a bare livelihood because of the extortions and exactions of the officials. To the second belong all those who are provoked by racial prejudice against the Manchus, while to the third class belong those who are inspired by noble thoughts and high ideas. These three factors, co-operating together in different directions, with increasing force and velocity, will ultimately produce the desired result. It is evident, therefore, that the downfall of the Manchu government is but a question of time.

The theory has sometimes been advanced with some show of plausibility that China, with her immense population and her vast resources, would be a menace to the whole world, if she would wake up and adopt Western methods and ideas; that if the foreign countries should do anything towards the uplifting and enlightening of the Chinese people, they would thereby create a sort of Frankenstein, and that wisest policy for other countries to pursue is to keep the Chinese down as much as possible. This is, in short, the substance of what is known as the "Yellow Peril." The theory sounds very well, but it will be found upon examination to be untenable from whatever standpoint you may view it. Apart from the moral side of the question as to whether it is right for one country to hope for the downfall of another, there is the political side to it. The Chinese

觀念。此爲學術界之變遷。更進言之：如致公堂（中國愛國會）者。普通所知其爲中國人自救之社會。其目的皆在於反清復明；此等有政治思想之祕會，建立已垂二百餘年。其會友有十萬人以上，布於中國南方。中國人在此邦加盟於此會者，得有百分之八十。大抵中國人之持革命觀念者，可分爲三種：第一種占最多數，而不能過露宗旨，懼羅官吏之毒害。第二種以種族之思想欲起而反抗滿人。第三種則爲有特別高尚之思想者。此三種人之手段不同。而漸次求達其目的，必得異日最良結果。是知滿洲政府之推倒，不過時日之問題而已。

於此有不完全之理想焉。以爲中國地大物博，大有可爲之資格。若一旦醒其渴睡，則世界必爲之震驚。倘輸進新文明於國內，將且讓法蘭坎斯坦事故。現時最巧之政策；皆以共亡中國爲目的。如倡黃禍論者是也！雖然，倡此議者，其自謀非不忠。然無論由何方面觀之，皆不能自完其說。夫一國之望他國亡滅，已離於道德之問題，而爲政治上之狡策。況中國人爲最平和勤勉最守法律之民族，非強悍好侵略之民族也。

are by nature an industrious, peaceful, law-abiding people. They are by no means an aggressive race. If ever they go to war at all, it is only for self-defense. The Chinese would be a menace to the peace of the world only if they were properly drilled by some foreign country and made use of as an instrument for the gratification of its own ambition. If left to themselves they would prove to be the most peaceful people in the world. Again, from an economic standpoint, the awakening of China and the establishment of an enlightened government is beneficial not only to the Chinese but also to the world at large. The whole country would be open to foreign trade; railroads would be built; natural resources would be developed; the people would be richer and their standard of living would be higher; the demand for foreign goods would be greater, and international commerce would be increased a hundredfold above its present rate. Is this a peril? Nations are to each other as individuals. Is it economically better for a man to have a poor, ignorant neighbor than it is for him to have a wealthy, intelligent one? Viewed from this light, theory falls at once to the ground and we may safely assert that the yellow peril may after all be changed into the yellow blessing.

There are two conflicting policies pursued by the foreign powers in regard to China. The one favors the partitioning and colonizing; the other advocates the integrity and independence of China. To those maintaining the former policy it is needless to remind them that it is fomented with danger and disaster, as the case of colonizing Manchuria by Russia exhibits; while to those maintaining the latter policy we venture to predict that it is impossible for them to realize their object so long as the present government exists. The Manchu dynasty may be likened to a collapsing house; the whole structure is thoroughly rotten to its very foundation. Is it possible for any one to prevent the house from falling just by supporting the walls collaterally outside with a few beams? We fear this very act of supporting it might hasten its tumbling. The dynastic life in

其從事於戰爭，亦止自衛。使外人果能始終去其機械之心，則吾敢謂世界民族未有能及中國人之平和者也。更試由經濟上觀之：則中國而建設文明之政府；其利益不僅在於本邦，將旁及於世界，可使全國與外人通商，可使鐵路推廣敷設，可使天然物產日益發達；可使民族高尚其資生之程度，可使外來物品銷售愈多，而萬國商業必百倍於曠昔。如此而猶以為禍，則是國民對於他國民，將以孤立為長策。而與貧而愚者為鄰，愈於與富且智者鄰矣。有是理耶！然則此主義當墮地。而所謂黃禍者適得其反也。

外人之對於中國者有二政策：而曾不相容。其一主張中國瓜分。其一擁護中國獨立。由前而觀，則露西亞用之以有今之巨創，其主義為不祥。由後而觀，則舊政府未去，必久而後能達其目的。然滿清朝庭，宛如將傾之宅，其基址全壞。設有人強支以木，欲保其不圯，吾恐非徒無益，且速之傾也，中國歷代興亡之歷史，如箇人然。由

China, as shown from history, is much the same as an individual; it has its birth, growth, maturity, declining and dying. The present Tartar rule has begun to decline since the beginning of the last century and is dying fast now. Therefore we say that even this benevolent and chivalric act of maintaining the integrity and independence of China, if such is meant, as we understand, to support the present tottering Tartar house, is doomed to failure.

Now it is evident, in order to solve this burning question, and to remove the source of disturbance to the peace of the world, that a new enlightened and progressive government must be substituted in place of the old one. In such a case China would not only be able to support herself, but would also relieve the other countries of the trouble of maintaining her independence and integrity. There are many highly educated and able men among the people who would be competent to take up the task of forming a new government, and carefully thought-out plans have long been drawn up for the transformation of this out-of-date Tartar Monarchy into a "Republic of China." The general masses of the people are also ready to accept the new order of things and are longing for a change for better, to uplift them from their present deplorable condition of life. China is now on the eve of a great national movement, for just a spark of light would set the whole political forest on fire to drive out the Tartar from our land. Our task is indeed great, but it will not be an impossible one. It needed fewer than twenty thousand troops of the allied army in the Boxer war in 1900 to break down the Tartar resistance, to march into Peking and capture that city. There is no doubt we could do the same with double or triple that number of men; furthermore, we could easily raise a hundred or a thousand times more men from our patriots. And it is evident from recent experiences that the Tartar soldiers

生而長，而全盛，而衰老，而死亡。滿洲政府，在前世紀已爲衰老時代，及今則其去死亡不遠矣。如有發慈愛之念，表中國獨立之同情，而猶思扶植滿洲之祚，吾知其亦必無成也。

現時方生之問題，既擾世界之平和，必便更造文明之新政府，以代其舊政府，則不止有益於中國，而他國之助之者亦蒙其利。夫使受高等教育之士，徧於國中，自足以建設新政府而有餘，且能使新政府小心翼翼，改良滿洲往日專制政體，變爲中國共和之政體。則當普通人民渴望維新，拯之於水火，因利而善導之，燎火於政治之原，可由此而遂逐滿洲政府。蓋能者之建設偉大，有非尋常所可推測。如千九百年拳匪之亂，二萬聯軍而陷取北京。吾人苟倍此數，不患不克，奚況愛國黨之響應，有千百倍於此者。抑更由屢次經驗，而知滿洲精兵在於戰地，均非吾人之敵。卽如廣西起事，亦其證也。彼距海岸甚遠，軍用品之轉輸不易，舍奪敵人之兵食外無他策，而能支持三載，屢敗各省之兵。然則執謂倡義建設者之必不能撲滿而去之也。中國人之目的已

are not our match in every field. The present uprising of patriots in the province of Kwangsi is a striking proof. They are far away from the coast and cannot get supplies of arms and ammunition from any source. The only means of getting such materials depends exclusively upon capturing those of the enemy. Even thus they have continued the fight for the last three years and repeatedly defeated expedition after expedition of imperial troops sent against them from various parts of the Empire. By possessing such a wonderful fighting capacity, who could say that they could not vanquish the Tartar power from China if sufficient supplies could be forthcoming? When our great object of revolutionizing China shall have been accomplished not only a new era would dawn on our beautiful country, but a brighter prospect also would be shared by the whole human race. Universal peace will surely follow the step of the regeneration of China, and a grand field hitherto never dreamed of will be opened to the social and economic activities of the civilized world.

To work out the salvation of China is exclusively a duty of our own but as the problem has recently involved a world-wide interest, we, in order to make sure of our success, to facilitate our movement, to avoid unnecessary sacrifice and to prevent misunderstanding and intervention of foreign powers, must appeal to the people of the civilized world in general and the people of the United States in particular for your sympathy and support, either moral or material, because you are the pioneers of Western civilization in Japan; because you are a Christian nation; because we intend to model our new government after yours, and above all, because you are the champion of liberty and democracy. We hope we may find many Lefayettes among you.

SUN YAT-SEN.

達。不止建新紀元之國家，而更可分其文明於全世界之人類，普通之平和固可隨之而蘇復，社會主義經濟主義之理想的世界，亦將現於實際。故吾人舍救護中國之外無責任。此問題為世界利益衝突所掩。而必犯難以求成。避無益之犧牲，挽回外力之錯認與其淆混；吾輩之希望美人表此同情，視希望世界一般文明人為尤切！蓋以美為日本文明先導，為基督教之國民，為他日我新政府之師範，殆猶於位花熱德其人者乎。吾謹為中國民族禱也！

〔謹按〕民國紀元前八年，（甲辰，西曆一九〇四年）總理旅居美國，特撰此文，發表於美報，為本黨最早之對外宣言。詞由同志譯成中文，以公民俱樂部之名義，印中英文合刊之單行本，茲依原譯文附載，以資參證。

駁康有爲書

章炳麟

長素足下：讀與南北美洲諸華商書，謂中國祇可立憲，不能革命。援引今古，灑灑萬言，嗚呼長素，何樂而爲是耶？熱中於復辟以後之賜環，而先爲是齟齬不了之語，以發東胡羣獸之聽。冀萬一可以解免。非致書商人，致書於滿人也。夫以一時之富貴，冒萬億不韙而不辭。舞詞弄札，眩惑天下。使賤儒元惡，爲之則已矣。尊稱聖人，自謂教主，而猶爲是妄言，在己則脂韋突梯，以佞滿人已耳。而天下之受其蠱惑者，乃較諸出於賤儒元惡之口爲尤甚。吾可無一言，以是正之乎。

謹案長素大旨，不論種族異同，惟計情僞得失以立說。雖然民族主義，自太古原人之世，其根性固已潛任。遠至今日，乃始發達，此生民之良知本能也。長素亦知種族之必不可破，於是依違遷就，以成其說。援引匈奴列傳，以爲上系淳維，出自禹後。夫滿洲種族，是曰東胡，西方謂之通古斯種，固與匈奴殊類。雖以匈奴言之，彼既大去華夏，永滯不毛。言語政教，飲食居處，一切自異於域內，猶得謂之同種也耶？智果自別爲輔氏，管氏變族爲陰家。名號不同，譜牒自異。況於戕虐祖國，職爲寇讎。而猶傳以兄弟急難之義，示以周親肺腑之恩，巨繆極矣，莫此爲甚。

近世種族之辨，以歷史民族爲界，不以天然民族爲界。藉言天然，則禘祫海藻，享祧蜚蜮六洲之氓，正色之種，誰非出於一本。而何必爲是聒聒者耶？長素又引氏羌鮮卑等族，以至元魏所改九十六姓，大江以南，駱越閩廣，今皆與中夏相雜。恐無從檢閱姓譜而攘除之。不知略、越、閩、廣，皆歸化漢人，而非陵制漢人者也。五胡代北，始嘗宰制中華。逮乎隋唐統

一，漢族自主，則亦著土傳籍，同爲編氓。未嘗自別一族，以與漢人相抗，是則同於醇化而已。日本定法，夙有蕃別。歐美近制，亦許歸化。此皆以已族爲主人，而使彼受吾統治，故一切可無異視。今彼滿洲者，其爲歸化漢人乎？其爲陵制漢人乎？堂子妖神，非郊丘之教。辮髮環珞，非弁冕之服。清書國語，非斯邈之文。徒以尊事孔子，奉行儒術。崇飾觀聽，斯乃不得已而爲之。而卽以便其南面之術，愚民之計，若言同種，則非使滿人爲漢種，乃適使漢人爲滿種也。

長素固言大同公理，非今日卽可全行。然則今日，固爲民族主義之時代，而可溷滑滿漢，以同薰蕕於一器哉。時方據亂，而言太平，何自悖其三世之說也。長素二說，自知非持之有故，言之成理。不得已，復援引春秋。謂其始外吳楚，終則等視。不悟荆揚二域，禹貢既列於九州。國土種類，素非異實。徒以王化陵夷，自守千里。遠方隔閡，淪爲要荒。而文化語言，無大殊絕。世本譜牒，猶在史官。一日自通於上國，則自復其故名。豈滿洲之可與共論者乎？

至謂衣服辮髮，漢人已化而同之。雖復改爲宋明之服，反覺不安。抑不知此辮髮胡服者，將強逼以成之耶？將安之若性也？禹入裸國，被髮文身。墨子入楚，錦衣吹笙。非樂而爲此也。強逼既久，習與性成。斯固不足以定是非者。吾聞洪楊之世，人皆蓄髮。不及十年，而曾左之師，摧陷洪氏。復從髡薙。是時朋儕相對，但覺纖首銳顛，形狀靈異。然則蓄髮之久，則以蓄髮爲安。辮髮之久，則以辮髮爲安。向使滿洲制服，涅齒以黛，穿鼻以金，刺體以龍，塗面以堊。儼詭殊形，

有若魍魎，行之二百有六十年，而人亦安之，無所怪矣。不問其是非然否，而惟問其所安。則所謂祖宗成法，不可輕變者，長素亦何以駁之乎？野蠻人有自去其板齒而反譏有齒者，爲犬類。長素之說，得無近於是耶？

種種繆戾，由其高官厚祿之性，素已養成。由是引犬羊爲同種，奉緞尾爲鴻寶。向之崇拜公羊，誦法繁露。以爲一字一句，皆神聖不可侵犯者。今則並其所謂復九世之仇，而亦議之。其言曰：『揚州十日之事，與白起坑趙，項羽坑秦無異，』豈不曰秦趙之裔，未有報白項之裔者，則滿洲亦當同例也？豈知秦趙白項，本非殊種。一旦戰勝，而擊坑之者，出於白項二人之指麾。非出於士卒全部之合意。若滿洲者，固人人欲盡漢種而屠戮之。其非爲豫魯一人之志可知也。是故秦趙之仇白項，不過仇其一人。漢族之仇滿洲，則常仇其全部，且今日之握圖籍，操政柄者，豈猶是白項之胤胄乎。三后之姓，降爲輿臺。宗支荒忽，莫可究詰。雖欲報復，烏從而報復之。至於滿洲，則不必問其宗支，而全部自在也。不必稽其姓名，而政府自在也。此則枕戈剗刃之事，秦趙已不能施於白項。而漢族猶可施於滿洲，章章明矣。明知其可報復，猶復飾爲瘡，甘與同壤。受其象養，供其驅役。寧使漢族無自立之日，而必爲滿洲謀其帝王萬世，斯天永命之計何。長素之無人心一至於此也！

長素又曰：『所謂奴隸者，若波蘭之屬於俄，印度之屬於英，南洋之屬於荷，呂宋之屬於西班牙，人民但供租稅，絕無政權，是則不能不憤求自立耳。若國朝之制，滿漢平等，漢人有才者，匹夫可以爲宰相。自同治年來，沈、李、翁、孫，迭相柄政，曾、左及李，倚爲外相。恭醇二邸，但拱手待成耳。即今除

榮祿慶邸外，何一非漢人爲政。若夫政治不善，則全由漢唐宋明之舊，而非滿洲特制也。然且舉明世庭杖鎮盜，大戶加稅，開礦之酷政而盡除之，聖祖立一條鞭法。納丁於地，不復差徭，此唐虞至明之所無。大地萬國所未有。他日移變吾四萬萬人必有政權，自由，可不待革命而得之也。』夫所謂奴隸者，豈徒以形式言耶？曾、左諸將，倚畀雖重，位至藩鎮，叢爾彈丸，未參內政。且福康安一破臺灣，而遂有貝子郡王之賞。曾、左反噬洪氏，挈大圭九鼎以付滿洲，爵不過通侯，位不過虛名之內閣。曾氏在日，猶必諸事官文，始得保全首領。較其輕重，計其利害，豈可同日而道。近世軍機首領，必在宗藩。夫大君無爲，而百度自治。爲首領者，亦以衆員供其策使。彼恭醇二邸之仰成，而沈、李、翁、孫之有事，乃適見此爲奴隸，而彼爲主人也。階位雖高，猶之闔宦僕豎。而賜爵儀同者，彼固仰承風旨云爾！曷能獨行其意哉。一條鞭法，名爲永不加賦。而耗羨平餘，猶在正供之外。徭役既免，民無哭聲。而舟車工匠，遇事未嘗獲免。彼既以南米供給駐防，亦知民志不怡，而不得不藉美名以媚悅之。玄暉、弘歷，數次南巡，強勒報效，數若恆沙。已居堯舜湯文之美名，而使佞幸小人，間接以行其聚斂。其酷有甚於加稅開礦者。觀唐甄之潛書，與袁枚之致黃庭桂書，則可知矣！莊生有云，『狙公賦芋，朝三暮四，衆狙皆怒。朝四暮三，衆狙皆悅。名實未虧，而喜怒爲用。』此正滿洲行政之實相也。況於庭杖雖除，詩案史禍，較諸庭杖毒螫百倍。康熙以來，名世之獄，嗣庭之獄，景祺之獄，周華之獄，中藻之獄，錫侯之獄，務以摧折漢人，使之噤不發語。雖李紱孫，嘉淦之無過，猶一切被賄賁木以挫辱之。至於近世戊戌之變，長素所身受，而猶謂滿洲政治爲大地萬國所未有。嗚呼！斯誠大

地萬國所未有矣！李陵有言：『子爲漢臣，安得不云爾乎！』夫長素所以不認奴隸，力主立憲，以摧革命之萌芽者。彼固終日屈心忍志，以處奴隸之地者爾，欲言立憲，不得不以皇帝爲聖明。舉其詔旨有云，一夫失職，自以爲者。而謂頑頑欲開議院，使國民咸操選舉之權，以公天下。其仁如天，至公如地，視天位如敝屣，然後可以言皇帝復辟。而憲政必無不行之慮。則吾向者爲正仇滿論既駁之矣，蓋自乙未以後，彼聖主所長慮卻顧？坐席不煖者，獨太后之廢置我耳。殷憂內結，智計外發，知非變法，無以交通外人，得其歡心。非交通外人，得其歡心，無以挾持重勢，而排沮太后之權力。裁濫小醜，未辨菽麥，鋌而走險，固不爲滿洲全部計。長素乘之，投閒抵隙。其言獲用，故戊戌百日之政，足以書於盤盂。勒於鐘鼎。其迹則公，而其心則祇以保吾權位也。曩令制度未定，太后天殂，南而聽治，知天下之莫予毒。則所謂新政者，亦任其遷延墮壞而已。非直墮壞。長素所謂拿破侖第三新爲民主，力行利民。已而夜宴伏兵，擒議員百數及知名士千數盡置於獄者，又將見諸今日，何也。滿漢兩族，固莫能兩大也。

今以滿洲五百萬人臨制漢族四萬萬人而有餘者，獨以腐敗之成法，愚弄之錮塞之耳。使漢人一日開通，則滿人固不能宴處於域內。如奧之撫匈牙利，土之御東羅馬也。人情誰不愛其種類，而懷其利祿。夫所謂聖明之主者，亦非遠於人情者也。果能敝屣其黃屋，而棄捐所有以利漢人耶？

藉曰其出於至公，非有滿漢畛域之見。然而新法猶不能行也。何者？滿人雖頑鈍無計，而其忱惕於漢人，知不可以重器假之，亦人人有是心矣。頑鈍愈甚，團體愈結。五百萬人同心戮力，如生番之有社寮。是故漢人無民權，而滿洲有民權，且

有貴族之權者也。雖無太后，而掣肘者什伯於太后。雖無榮祿，而掣肘者什伯於榮祿。今夫建立一政，登用一人。而肺腑暱近之地，羣相譖譏。朋疑衆難，雜沓而至。自非雄傑獨斷，如俄之大彼得者，固弗能勝是也。其驢四子，於堯皆葭莩姻婭也。靖言庸回，而堯亦不得不任用之。今其所謂聖明之主者，其聰明文思，果有以愈於堯耶？其雄傑獨斷，果有以儕於俄之大彼得者耶？往者戊戌變政，去五寺三巡撫如拉枯，獨駐防則不敢撤。彼聖主之力與，滿洲全部之力，果熟優熟細也？由是言之，彼其爲私，則不欲變法矣。彼其爲公，則亦不能變法矣。長素徒以詔旨美談，視爲實事。以此誑耀天下，獨不讀劉知幾載文之篇乎。謂魏晉以後，詔勅皆責成羣下。藻飾既工，事無不可。故觀其政命，則辛癸不如。讀其詔誥，則勳華再出。此足以知戊戌行事之虛實矣！

且所謂立憲者，固將有上下兩院。而下院議定之案，上院猶得以可否之！今上院之法定議員，誰爲之耶？其曰皇族，則親王貝子是已。其曰貴族，則八家與內外蒙古是已。其曰高僧，則衛藏之達賴班禪是已。是數者，皆漢族之所無，而異種之所特有，是議權仍不在漢人也。

所謂滿漢平等者，必如奧匈二國並建政府，而統治於一皇，爲雙立君主制而後可。使東三省尚在，而滿洲大長得以兼統漢人，吾民猶勉自抑制以事之。今者滿洲故土，既攘奪於俄人。失地當誅，並不認爲滿洲君主，而何雙立君主之有？夫戴此失地之天囚，以爲漢族之元首。是何異取罪人於囹圄，而奉之爲大君也。乃曰『朋友之交，猶貴久要不忘，安有君臣之際，受人之知遇，因人之危難，中道變棄，乃反戈倒攻者。』誠如是，則載灃者，固長素之私友，而漢族之公仇也。況滿洲